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among the Apinayé proved a failure, he soon returned, subsequently conducting the Santa Thereza mission for a number of years.[a]

In 1859 Ferreira Gomes[a] visited a settlement of the Krẽyé, whom he oddly designated as "Carajás." It was situated near Imperatriz and had from 50 to 60 inhabitants, who were ill nourished and very poorly off.

A tribal list of 1861 by Marques registers wild and tame Pivócas in the company of Coroados (?) at the Pindaré headwaters; wild, as well as some tame, Pivócasmecras in villages near the Tocantins; and wild and tame Gregês between the Rio Capim and Santa Thereza. It is true that his list is not very trustworthy, for among other blunders it cites the Amanayé under three distinct names as so many separate tribes; and the distinction between Pivóca and Pivócasmecras is nonsensical. Nevertheless his records seem to indicate that part of the tribe had already retired from the Tocantins back into the interior, though hardly to the Pindaré headwaters, the frontier from time immemorial of their enemies, the Krĩkatí. More probably they proceeded to the district where they were still met in later years, viz. that of the Rio Gurupy headwaters.

At the time of Dodt's survey of the Rio Gurupy in 1872 the "Carajés" were dwelling by the eastern fork of the Cajuapára headwaters in a village of 400–500 inhabitants. For their emigration from the Tocantins region they gave the following explanation: During the men's absence from the village on one occasion several sertão dwellers attacked it, abducting a number of Indian children. Then the Indians burnt down a neighboring fazenda, killing seven of the people there, and from fear of Neobrazilian revenge fled into the woods of the Gurupy region.[a]

During my stay on the Gurupy (1914–15) the Krẽyé were still living there. Their village, named Bacaba, had about 100 inhabitants in tolerable circumstances, being in a better state of preservation than the Timbira of Araparytíua. With the aid of their chief, who bore the Tembé name Arapuhá, I took down a small word list. The census of 1919 still credits the tribe with 65 souls. Not long after this the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios transferred it to Felippe Camarão at the mouth of the Jararaca, where there are at present only a few survivors.

5. *The Krĩkatí*

Krĩkatí means "big village"; it is the name by which the tribe is known not only among fellow Timbira, but even among the Northern Kayapó.[a] The Neobrazilians have transmogrified it into the name Caracaty, while the tribe generally calls itself Krĩkateyẽ (those of the village). Both appellations refer to the ancient tradition of a single large village once jointly inhabited by all the Timbira. The killing of a tame ostrich is supposed to have precipitated a bloody feud, whereupon the majority departed in separate groups, betaking themselves in different directions and forming new tribes. Only the present Krĩkateyẽ remained in the old settlement. It is with reference to this tradition that the Apinayé call this people Mãkraya (ostrich tribe), while it figures among the Kre'pų'mkateye, Rąmkõ'kamekra, and Apą'nyekra as Pẽnykõkateye (those of the mangaba water [pẽny, mangaba, i.e., *Hancornia* sp.; kõ, water]). The Neobrazilians have frequently confused the tribe with the Pųkóbye, dubbing both of them Gaviões (falcons).

Since their first appearance, which to be sure does not date back a century, until their extinction as an independent people in 1930, the Krĩkatí had never left their ancient habitat east of the Tocantins, where this river gradually changes its south-

[a] See Aguiar, etc.
[a] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 194–195.
[a] Dodt, Descripção, 121.
[a] Nimuendajú, Idiomas Indígenas, 561.

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619 178 167 The tables have turned by now. Reduced in numbers and robbed of their territory, the Pukóbye survivors have sunk almost to the same untenable position as the Krîkatí in the period of their destruction. Over them, too, the Damocles' sword of a massacre by Grajahú fazendeiros is constantly suspended. For a long time they have been ousted from their tracts along the Rio Sant' Anna (once named R. Piocobgê, after them) and pushed toward the edge of the tropical forest region of the Pindaré. For a long time they inhabited an aldea on the Morro do Chapeu, east of the upper Pindaré. The census of 1919 credits this village with 52 inhabitants, who are wrongly registered as "Canellas." The figure may be too low for that period, but confirms my informants' statements, that the true Pukóbye have dwindled to very inconsiderable numbers, the majority of the people now inhabiting Pukóbye settlements being members of other tribes, notably Krîkatí refugees. [162]

619 161 162 In 1929, when I visited these Indians, they occupied the aldeas of São Felix and Recurso, situated at a distance of sixteen kilometers from each other, somewhat north and south of Morro do Chapeu. They harbored possibly 150 and 120 inhabitants, respectively. In São Felix, more particularly, there were many Krîkatí from the settlements broken up in the previous year. In Recurso I heard about remnants of an unidentifiable Timbira group, the Kõtu'krekateye (those of the little black creek), who are said to have once lived somewhere between the upper Grajahú and Mearim; suspected of participation in the Guajajára rebellion of 1901, they had fled to the Pukóbye.

In 1924 Snethlage recorded one hundred and thirty Pukóbye words in Barra do Corda;[a] five years later in São Felix I took down two hundred and thirty.

7. *The Western Gaviões*

619 101 173 Somewhat below the Araguaya confluence the Tocantins bends northward from its east-west course. The forests in the angle thus formed are now inhabited by an Indian tribe that according to the tradition of the Pukóbye of the Grajahú steppes seceded from them a long time ago, betaking itself to the woods. As a matter of fact the Neobrazilians designate both groups as Gaviões without recognizing any differences between them.

619 175 101 The earlier reports on the region in question register solely a "Jacundá tribe," which, however, does not seem to have been of the Timbira branch. The first to mention it is Villa Real[b] in 1793. At that time they were living on the Guayapi and Jacundá, eastern tributaries of the Tocantins in the region of the Itaboca rapids. Their chiefs were Uoriniuera and Claxira, of which names the former, unlike the second, is definitely Tupí. Notwithstanding the lack of all linguistic evidence Martius and Ehrenreich class the group as Tupí; the latter also erroneously places it on the west side of the Tocantins. The people are described as light skinned and amiable.[c] Ribeiro mentions them in 1819. Castelnau in 1844.[d] In 1849 they are still registered among the tribes within the domain of Santa Thereza mission, and in 1850 Ayres Carneiro met them on the Praia Ambauá, somewhat above what is now Alcobaça.[e] This is their last appearance in history, and in 1859 the Gaviões for the first time figure in their place.[f] At that period they were hostile to all other tribes, likewise avoiding relations with civilized people whenever they encountered them [114]

619 175 221

[a] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 187 f.
[b] Villa Real, Viagem, 425 f., 432.
[c] Marques, Apontamentos, "Tocantins."
[d] Ribeiro, Memoria, Nota 51. Castelnau, Histoire, 2:117.
[e] J. F. Coelho, 76. Carneiro, Itinerario, 25.
[f] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 496.

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619 101 To the Apą'nyekra, Krahõ' and Pụkóbye they are known as Kọ'ikra, Kọirumekra (eastern tribe, from kọ'i east, kọ'irum, toward the east). Martius's spelling of this name is "Corumecrans." They are descended from the "Capiecran" of old, whose sad history Ribeiro records;[28] yet that appellation is wholly unknown and unintelligible to the tribesmen today.

619 131 Originally their territory embraced the steppes between the Itapicurú and the Corda, as far northward as about 5° 50', where the dry-forest habitat of the hostile Čą'kamekra begins to dominate in the region of the Rio das Flores. Eastward they roved as far as Picos, which according to Ribeiro was among the settlements destroyed by them. Toward the west the Porcos-Papagaios watershed separated them from the Apą'nyekra. Thus, they occupied at one time the region of the middle and lower Alpercatas, of the Ourives and Porcus, except for that northernmost section which already falls into the dry-forest zone.

619 721 175 Annually the Capiecran suffered from the bandeiras, against whose attacks the open steppes put them at a definite disadvantage. From 1793–1801 they sustained heavy losses, especially of women and children, many of whom were carried off by the soldiers under the leadership of Domingos Lopes, the commandant of Pastos Bons. In the following years these defeats were avenged in a series of furious attacks, which compelled the Neobrazilians to abandon all their fazendas—according to Ribeiro, well over thirty on both sides of the Alpercatas.

In 1814 the Capiecran, beaten by the Čą'kamekra, accepted the terms of a treaty offered by the leader of a bandeira—on condition of receiving aid in the destruction of their enemies. In the beginning of 1815 the tribe under its chief, Tempẽ', marched to Burityzinho on a left affluent of the Itapicurú, between the present towns of Picos and Mirador; and during that year it participated in a raid against the Čą'kamekra. They were now to be settled at Barra do Corrente on the Itapicurú, but the plan was not executed.[29] Instead of reorganizing the tribe in adjustment to the new conditions, the authorities left it to shift by itself without attention to its economic maintenance. In consequence the Capiecran scattered in small bands over the settled neighborhood, inflicting almost more serious damage on the residents by theft than in the previous period of warfare by their raids.

619 175 648 Instead of nipping the trouble in the bud, the officials remained wholly passive for two years, even suppressing all complaints of the aggrieved settlers. Then abruptly the reverse attitude was assumed. On the subterfuge that assistance was once more required for an expedition against the Čą'kamekra, a large part of the tribe was lured to Caxias, which was then afflicted with a smallpox epidemic. On their arrival a number of Indian women were arrested on a charge of having stolen victuals—among them the chief's wife. By way of punishment they were flogged and chained up without consideration for their suckling babes. When Tempẽ' and a few others remonstrated, one of his men was killed and he himself flogged. Despondent in view of this treachery, the half-starved and already smallpox-infected Capiecran scattered, seeking to escape to their former home, but even in this wretched plight they were pursued and some of them shot down near São José, fourteen leguas from Caxias. The epidemic, however, had already spread in October 1817 to the Apinayé beyond the Tocantins and came to victimize thousands of Indians. In 1819 Ribeiro reports that there were only scattered remnants of the Capiecran on the east bank of the Grajahú and at Burityzinho.

619 648 173 Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition still preserves the memory of that chief Tempẽ', whose

[28] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 45–61; Roteiro, 43–45.
[29] Moreira Pinto, Apontamentos, "Canellas finas."

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name has been matrilineally transmitted until today, of the treaty, and of the tragic incidents at Caxias. But it speaks of Tempẽ''s murder, while Ribeiro ascribes his death to the smallpox. Further, the natives report the flight of the tribe into the dry forest in the angle formed by the Corda and the Ribeirão dos Porcos; and how a tribesman whose daughter had remained among the colonists acted as a go-between negotiating a new treaty of peace. This they have loyally kept; for the rebellion of 1860 against the Indian superintendent João da Cunha Alcanfor on the upper Mearim was not, as Father Bartolomeo da Monza has it, a Canella but a Guajajára uprising.[xxx] In the 1901 revolt of the Guajajára the Rąmkõ'kamekra furnished a contingent of 40 (not 200, as Ignace writes) warriors under chief Major Delfino Kôkaipó to aid the troops sent against the rebels.

In 1924 Snethlage spent three weeks, in 1928 Fróes Abreu four days in Ponto; I shall have frequent occasion to cite their observations. In 1929 I paid my first visit there, spending a little over a month; in 1930, 1931, 1933, 1935, and 1936 I stayed there, respectively, a little over two months, two and a half months, nearly three months, over two months, and two and a half months. Adopted as the son of the above-mentioned Delfino Kôkaipó's son, I bear his Indian name.

In 1934 lack of timber for clearings forced the Indians to abandon Ponto and to seek a new site a little farther downstream, at Baixão Preto, where a measles epidemic carried off some twenty children. Thereupon the settlement was moved to a somewhat higher altitude, but the grippe immediately demanded a number of further victims, and this scourge had not yet disappeared when the smallpox set in (1935). After the death of their principal chief, Ropką', the Indians fled in various directions, but reunited after the lapse of several months, some on the Ribeirão dos Bois, others on the Ribeirão dos Pombos. Each of these fractions obstinately insisted on the other's giving up its settlement in order to join the other. With some difficulty I persuaded them in 1936 to form a new common village on the Ribeirão da Rapoza.

The population seems to have maintained itself at a level in recent years. The census of 1919 lists Ponto with 226 inhabitants, clearly an understatement. On the other hand, Snethlage's figure of 400 for Remakokamekrãn and Sakamekrãn, that is, for Ponto in 1929, is certainly excessive. In 1933 I counted 298; in 1935 they had decreased to 265, but in 1936 they numbered close to 300.

On the speech of the three Canella tribes the following material has been published:

1819. Martius, Beiträge, 2:149. 164 words (Aponegieran-Apą'nyekra).
1902. Ignace, Les Capiecrans, 479. 36 words (Canellas, tribe not specified).
1908. Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 53. 46 words (Canellas of Soledade-Kénkateye).
1913. Nimuendajú, Vokabular der Timbiras. 55 words (allegedly Remakôkamekrere, actually Apą'nyekra).
1924. Snethlage, Unter nordostbrasilianischen Indianern, 187 f. 399 words (Rąmkõ'kamekran).
1928. Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 201 f. 200 words and short sentences, 38 personal names (Canella of Ponto-Rąmkõ'kamekra).
1929–1930. Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 17 f. 798 words (Portuguese-Canella and Canella-Portuguese). His grammatical remarks rest on dubious forms and are often positively incorrect: feminine suffix, plural by duplication, word contraction, pronominal infixation, etc.

14. The Čą'kamekra

To the northeast, beyond the watershed of the Rio Corda basin, the Rąmkõ'kamekra were bounded by the territory of their ancient enemies, the Čą'kamekra, who held the district of the Rio das Flores, a rivulet entering the Rio Mearim from the east;

[xxx] Bartolomeo da Monza, Massacro di Alto Alegre.

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619 101 but they have never resided on the Rio Balsas, where Martius places them.[109] Because the dry forest already predominates in their habitat, the Neobrazilians call these people Timbiras da Matta or Matteiros. Another appellation for them, unintelligible to me, apparently used to be Terantim, which occurs as early as 1731; likewise the form Berintim.[110]

The term they themselves and the other Timbira apply is Čą'kamekra, from čąre (steppe fox [*Canis brasiliensis*]). Ribeiro's spelling "Sacamecran" and Snethlage's "Sakamekrãn," though the latter's word lists twice render "tschorã" as raposa (= steppe fox). Alternative Rąmkõ'kamekra terms for this people are Irómkateye (those of the forest [iróm]), and Mukúrkateye, after the Brejo da Mucura, the site of their last village.

619 175 648 In Ribeiro's day the Čą'kamekra were an extremely warlike tribe, which ravaged the fazendas along the Caxias-Pastos Bons route and later made navigation on the Mearim unsafe. At that time they occupied the villages of Alagoas and Pintado. After their defeat by Felix do Rego toward the close of the eighteenth century, they suffered no serious harm from any bandeira. In 1815 a part of the tribe was tricked by false proposals of peace, captured with the assistance of Capiecran, and publicly auctioned off in Caxias as slaves.

In 1818 another bandeira offered proposals for a new treaty and gifts, of which only the latter were accepted. A cargo of iron tools, which was thereupon sent them, they also accepted, but without presenting themselves to the forwarders. Finally, however a number of them went downstream in the boat, ostensibly to ratify the treaty in Caxias, but at the Remanso do Urubú they murdered the crew and fled back into the woods.

619 175 721 [114] The military post of Principe Regente at the Alpercaras-Itapicurú confluence played a great part in the conflicts with both Čą'kamekra and Rąmkõ'kamekra. Even before the establishment of Pastos Bons (1764) a road had been pushed onward from Caxias into this region, though Indian attacks necessitated its abandonment. During the first four years of the post, twenty members of the garrison were killed by the Indians. For three years its commandant was the oft-cited Francisco de Paula Ribeiro. In 1817 political intrigues led to its abandonment in favor of the newly laid out settlement of Almeida, fifteen kilometers below the present Picos. Thereupon the Indian attacks immediately multiplied to such an extent that even São Zacharias farther downstream had to be abandoned.[111]

619 175 167 [173] The Čą'kamekra remained hostile until at least the 'forties. In 1847 mention is still made of the two Matteiro villages. In 1854 we hear of several hordes living scattered on the banks of the Mearim between the Morro do Cocal Grande (= Morro do Pontal?) and the Morro do Bezerra, that is, about between 5° 10′ and 5° 20′, as well as near Picos on the Itapicurú. In 1855 some forty were living on the Morro do Bezerra, where a number died of fever in the course of the next two years. Others moved to the Rio dos Flores while the remainder was settled at Intans, a little below the Morro do Bezerra, whence they migrated to the Canellas da Chapada (?). Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition likewise tells of peace made by the Čą'kamekra many years ago; thereupon the two tribes jointly occupied one village, but disease caused them to separate again.

At all events the remnants of the Čą'kamekra reunited in the region of the upper Rio das Flores, where they constantly receded southward before the wave of settlers. In the 'nineties they lived on the Brejo da Mucura, one of the most remote

[109] Martius, Beiträge, 1:285.
[110] Annaes, 5:553, 559. Pereira do Lago, Itinerario, 421.
[111] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 36; Roteiro, 64, Nota 27. Marques, Apontamentos, 16, 27.